1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

285 415 Hamara of the Gzennaya; Bokoya; Ijaonen of Beni Amart; Beni Hadifa and Ajdir of Beni Urriaghel; Sidi Bu Daud of Temsaman; the Metalsa dwelling near Beni Mohammed, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, all the Senhaja and Ghomara, Beni Mesduy, Targuist, and the western Maritime tribes.

[314] *Wickerwork*, the third type, is called *asarow n ughanim*. Oleander switches and reeds are used, the oleander for the uprights, or warp, and the split reeds woven in and out between them. Baskets made of this material are often of great size, four to five feet in diameter and six feet in height. They are used for the transportation of grapes, figs, almonds, walnuts, and the like, and for the storage of raisins, dried figs, and dried apricots. (See plate 24.) They are to be found in Iherrassen, Ikhuanen, Ulad Alu ben Aissa, Ikaroen, Temjunt, Bured, all of Gzennaya, Mountain Urriaghel, Taghzuth n Tassa and Tizera n Imziwen of Beni Tuzin, Beni Amart, Bu Adl, Beni Koraa, and Ain Mediuna of the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja, and Beni Bu Shibet.

TEXTILES

286 [439] Textiles made in the Rif are confined to woolen cloths, all cotton and what little silk there is being imported.

283 [824] The first process in textile manufacture is washing the wool in a stream with the boiled roots of the plant known as *thaghigheshth*. The wool is hung up in the rafters of the house until dry, and is then carded. In the old days, cards of local manufacture, called *ikarthashen*, were employed, but today the cards used throughout the Rif are imported from Sheshawen and are of European type. The indigenous type consists of a long wooden handle about two feet in length, with a flat piece of cow's horn attached to one end. Into the horn are set two parallel rows of spikes, either wooden or brass, about the length of a human finger. The rows are set at right angles to the axis of the handle, and the spikes project from the handle at a right angle. These cards were kept in pairs, and when not in use were pushed up into the rafters, where, in old houses, a few of them may still be found.

Spinning, the next process after carding, is done in two ways:

1. The thread is suspended from a distaff, on which the rove is wound, and attached to a spindle-whorl held just off the ground. Thread spun in this way is used for warp and is called *asarau*.

2. The rove is spun on the thigh and gathered into a pot below. This thread is used for weft and is called *amshin*.

286 [868] Weaving, the final process of textile manufacture, is done on two entirely different kinds of loom under different circumstances. The more primitive is the *azta*, an upright two-bar loom with a stick heddle and a wooden comb for battening the warp. The operation of the *azta* is entirely in the hands of women. A girl who does not know how to weave on the *azta* has a poor chance of marriage, and consequently girls learn this art at an early age. Parties are held for the teaching of it; a girl who is not expert invites a number of skilled weavers, who go to her house, eat, and instruct her. The cloth produced by the *azta* is called *tadsha* and is used for women's clothes, men's sleeveless shirts worn in winter, and blankets. It is generally white, sometimes with red horizontal bands or stripes. The *azta* is employed throughout the region under consideration, except in the tribes of Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa.

This same agharrabu is used for transporting merchandise and travelers. For fishing with lines, the Rifians utilize small boats, enclosed, with a flat bottom and one or two benches.

They make the lines and hook themselves. What is left of this wonderful qanun of the sea? The remembrance of the last old Rifian agharrabu, the broken frames of which are half-buried in the sand of a hidden cove, tells us of its courageous life and slow agony, kissed by the waves which it so often dominated, which in incessant pilgrimage render it the ultimate homage to root out as a precious relic the splinters which will merit even combatting the new masters of the sea, the detonating motors.

This is what remains of the old Rifian agharrabus, navigators in history. An old frame and an even older sailor relating the custom of the sea, and now aspiring to a (minor) position in the port (author's italics); (of Villa Sanjurjo--since 1956: al-Husaima).

14. THE QANUN OF WATER RIGHTS (AITH WARYAGHAR):

A) Water Rights:

Water rights among the Aith Waryaghar are based on the fact that the owner of a plot of land also owns the subsoil as well. For this reason, the waters which pass over the former as well as those which run through the latter belong to him. An individual who owns property can therefore dig any wells which he deems convenient, even though this may damage the quality or cause an accident by not having revealed its presence. This right is limited by the spirit of fraternity which obliges the Rifian to maintain, at cardinal points on a path, such as under the shelter of a tree or by a well, a jug of water so that passers-by may slake their thirst.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Palmetto is exploited for its edible bud, and the old women who sell *ghaz* (palm cabbage) are a common sight in the streets of Tetuán and Tangier. During the summer, when cereal stocks are low, many families spend some time digging up palmetto.

Palmetto is exploited also for its fiber, used in the manufacture of *crin végétal*. The collecting is done by women, who deposit bundles of palm blades near scales set out along most of the roads. The fiber is dried in the sun, and then twisted into loose rope and baled for marketing. The finished product serves as a substitute for horsehair in upholstering. In 1955, exporters in the northern zone handled 12,622 tons of fiber.[a] Native craftsmen make hats, mats, and baskets of the same material.

Disturbance of this sort encourages lateral development rather than tall growth from a single stock, but seldom results in destruction of the plant.[b] The resiliency of palmetto is attested by its persistence in cultivated fields. The native farmer has no means of eradicating the deep roots of this plant. Fields are burned and then cleared with hoes and cutting tools. This practice eliminates most shrubs, but it does not destroy palmetto. On the contrary, this plant, as a deep-rooting and heliophilous species, profits from the removal of competitive growth. When fields lie fallow or are abandoned, dwarf palm promptly begins to colonize.[c] In relatively undisturbed formations the palmetto is of secondary importance. It is not conspicuous, for example, in mature stands of cork oak. On sacred sites palmetto is usually found on the edges of the protected growth. Where shrub vegetation is especially dense, as it is along the Mediterranean coast from Wâd Lao to Puerto Capaz, dwarf palm grows on sunny south-facing slopes and on the upper edges of stream channels. Pure stands of palmetto seem to indicate floristic and morphologic impoverishment, a reduction of vegetation to its most resistant element.

Pistacia lentiscus (Arabic *dro*) is the second most important element of palmetto scrub. As with dwarf palm, it may be doubted that this plant should be described as a shrub. *Dro* usually appears as a shrub about one meter high, but where soils are deep and plants protected, it may grow three to five meters high. Such trees are rare today. With the exception of a few specimens scattered in the Anjra hills northeast of Tetuán, I have seen tall pistacias only on sacred sites and in a few areas protected by fences. In one form or the other this plant is encountered as an element of maqui in most of the Mediterranean region. It is found almost everywhere in Morocco; only in areas of extreme aridity and in the mountains above 1,500 meters is it absent. *Dro* is mixed with *Zizyphus lotus* in the Nkour

[a] *Marruecos, zona jalifiana: guía económica* (Tetuán: Delegación de Economía, 1955), p. 59.

[b] The ability of the palmetto to survive disturbance is recognized by Theophrastus (*Enquiry into Plants* . . . , II, 6): "The dwarf-palm is a distinct kind, having nothing but its name in common with the other palms. For if its head is removed, it survives, and, if it is cut down, it shoots again from the roots." Louis Emberger concludes, in *Les Arbres du Maroc et comment les reconnaître* (Paris: Larose, 1938), p. 76: "Cette forme naine est déterminée par l'action continuelle des troupeaux, qui broutent les jeunes pousses, et de l'homme qui exploite le Palmier nain pour en faire des cordages et consummer le cœur." M. Rikli, "Marokko," *Vegetationsbilder*, 24, Heft 4/5 (1934), concurs in this judgment, and adds that the prevalent form of the palmetto "als fuss- bis kniehohes Hartlaubgestrüpp ist sekundär, durch anthro- und zoogene Einwirkung entstanden."

[c] According to Louis Emberger, *Aperçu général sur la végétation du Maroc* (Bern: Hans Huber, 1939), p. 150, "son expansion est le résultat de la destruction des forêts dans lesquelles il était un élément floristique constant." G. Kuhnholtz-Lordat, *La Terre incendiée: essai d'agronomie comparée* (Nîmes: Editions de la Maison Carrée, 1939), p. 44, coins a new verb, *endoumer*, the process by which forests degenerate to thickets of *doum*.